

Message Text

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INFO AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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TAGS: PEPR, MASS, GR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: SENATE DEBATE ON LIFTING TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO

FOLLOWING ARE SELECTED EXTRACTS FROM THE JULY 25 DEBATE
TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY:

1. SEN. ROBERT C. BYRD'S OPENING REMARKS ON INTRODUCTION
OF THE AMENDMENT:
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BEGIN QUOTE THE TIME HAS COME TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ON ARMS
TO TURKEY. ENDING THE EMBARGO WILL, I BELIEVE, BE IN THE
BEST INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE UNITED STATES, TURKEY, AND
NATO, BUT OF CYPRUS AND GREECE AS WELL.

I WILL, THEREFORE, INTRODUCE AN AMENDMENT LATER TODAY,
JOINTLY SPONSORED BY MR. MCGOVERN, MR. BENTSEN, AND MR.
CHAFEE, WHICH WOULD END THE EMBARGO. THIS AMENDMENT WOULD
DO MORE THAN SIMPLY REPEAL THE EMBARGO, HOWEVER. IT WOULD
ALSO PUT INTO LAW A STRONG DECLARATION OF U.S. COMMITMENT

TO A JUST SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. FURTHER, IT WOULD REQUIRE THAT IN FUTURE REQUESTS FOR MILITARY OR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, CREDITS, OR ARMS SALES FOR TURKEY, GREECE, OR CYPRUS, THE PRESIDENT TRANSMIT TO CONGRESS

HIS CERTIFICATION THAT SUCH A SOLUTION HAS BEEN ACHIEVED OR THAT SUCH AID WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF A SOLUTION.

IN ORDER FOR CONGRESS TO CONTINUALLY REVIEW PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE, THE AMENDMENT WOULD ALSO REQUIRE REPORTS FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS EVERY 60 DAYS ON THIS MATTER.

THE AMENDMENT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL \$35 MILLION IN FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS TO GREECE, BRINGING THE TOTAL ALLOCATION FOR GREECE UP TO \$175 MILLION, EQUAL TO THE AMOUNT AUTHORIZED FOR TURKEY. END QUOTE

2. SEN. BENTSEN'S OPENING REMARKS:

BEGIN QUOTE IT IS NOT EASY FOR ONE WHO FOUGHT SO HARD TO IMPOSE THE TURKISH EMBARGO TO NOW STAND BEFORE THIS BODY UNCLASSIFIED

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AND SAY, "ENOUGH. ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. WE HAVE MADE OUR POINT. WE HAVE SUSTAINED THE RULE OF LAW. WE HAVE PROVEN TO THE TURKS AND TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD THAT WE EXPECT THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE MAINTAINED IN THE USE OF OUR WEAPONRY."

THIS, DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE HAVE HAD SOME 26 OTHER INSTANCES OF QUESTIONABLE USE OF U.S. ARMS AND POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW OF LIMITATIONS ON THAT USE. THIS NATION, IN MOST INSTANCES, HAS CHOSEN NOT TO ACT ON THEM.

BUT WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT ON THIS EMBARGO WHERE IT IS NOT ONLY NOT PRODUCTIVE, BUT COUNTERPRODUCTIVE--COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO CYPRUS; TO GREECE; TO TURKEY; AND MOST OF ALL TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA...END QUOTE

3. SEN. BENTSEN'S COMMENTS ON TURKISH PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS:

BEGIN QUOTE TODAY PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAS LATITUDE ON CYPRUS THAT WAS DENIED TO HIS PREDECESSOR. HE HAS OPENED UP NEW CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE GREEKS. HE HAS SPECIFICALLY BROKEN THE LINK BETWEEN THE EMBARGO AND TURKISH POLICY ON CYPRUS. TOGETHER WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY, HE HAS PLACED AN OFFER ON THE TABLE.

THE TURKISH OFFERS OF APRIL COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER. WE ADMIT THAT. BUT THE OFFER WAS NOT AS BAD AS THE GREEK CYPRIOTS CONTEND AND IT WAS CERTAINLY A VAST IMPROVEMENT

OVER WHAT THE TURKS HAD PUT ON THE TABLE PREVIOUSLY. ECEVIT AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS IS A FIRST OFFER, AN OPENING BID, THAT THEY ARE

PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE, TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH; THAT THEY ARE READY TO LISTEN TO COUNTER OFFERS. TO MOVE FORWARD FROM THE APRIL PROPOSALS. THEY HAVE RECENTLY IMPROVED ON THEIR VAROSHA PROPOSAL.

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THAT PROPOSAL WAS REJECTED OUT OF HAND 2 OR 3 DAYS AGO, BUT AS OF LAST NIGHT I UNDERSTAND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE MADE A COUNTER OFFER. THE TURKISH PROPOSALS HELPED TO BREAK THE LOGJAM.

I HAVE HEARD IT SAID TIME AND TIME AGAIN THE TURKS SHOULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING. WELL, THEY HAVE BEEN. BUT BOTH SIDES MUST BE FORTHCOMING. END QUOTE

4. SEN. CHAFEE ON U.S. INTELLIGENCE LOSSES RESULTING FROM THE EMBARGO:

BEGIN QUOTE ALREADY, AS A RESULT OF THE U.S. ACTION OF IMPOSING THE EMBARGO, WE ARE LOSING IRREPLACEABLE INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION FROM BASES IN TURKEY THAT HAVE BEEN CLOSED SINCE 1974. THESE BASES ARE NEEDED TO RESTORE CLARITY TO CERTAIN AREAS OF OUR SURVEILLANCE OF SOVIET MILITARY ACTIVITY. I KNOW THAT SOME SAY THAT THESE INTELLIGENCE BASES DO NOT MEAN A WHIT OF DIFFERENCE TO THE UNITED STATES. THEY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH SALT VERIFICATION, SOME SAY. WELL, LET US SEE WHAT THOSE WHO ARE CLOSEST TO THE SITUATION HAVE TO STATE IN THIS REGARD.

AS ADM. STANSFIELD TURNER, DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, WROTE LAST WEEK REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY TO OUR INTELLIGENCE MISSION:

TURKEY'S IMPORTANCE RANKS VERY HIGH BECAUSE OF THE CRUCIAL AREAS IN WHICH ITS CONTRIBUTION IS FELT: TREATY VERIFICATION, SUPPORT OF NATO COMMITMENTS, AND INDICATIONS, WARNING AND CRISES MANAGEMENT. SOME OF THESE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE UNIQUE AND NOT REPLACEABLE.... END QUOTE
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5. SEN. EAGLETON'S CRITICISM OF THE AMENDMENT:

BEGIN QUOTE: MR. PRESIDENT, WITH DUE RESPECT TO MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES FROM WEST VIRGINIA AND SOUTH DAKOTA, I MUST SAY THAT PASSAGE OF THE BYRD-MCGOVERN AMENDMENT WOULD DEAL A SERIOUS BLOW TO THE PRINCIPLE OF

LAW WE HAVE TAKEN SUCH PAINS TO PRESERVE THESE 3 YEARS
THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN IN PLACE.

IF THE AMENDMENT PASSES, THE EMBARGO WOULD BE REPEALED
UNDER THE TRANSPARENT GUISE OF A "POLICY STATEMENT"
ALIGNING THE UNITED STATES ON THE SIDE OF PROGRESS TOWARD
A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

MR. PRESIDENT, THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THIS APPROACH. IN
POINT OF FACT, IT IS A RESTATEMENT OF THE POLICY WE HAVE
SUPPOSEDLY BEEN FOLLOWING THESE 3 YEARS--TYING ARMS SALES
TO TURKEY TO A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE
NOW IS THAT--IF THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED UNCONDITIONALLY--
THE TURKS WILL BE REWARDED FOR THEIR REFUSAL TO BUDGE ON
CYPRUS.

WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY ENCOURAGED THE TURKS TO TAKE SOME
TANGIBLE ACTION ON CYPRUS IN EXCHANGE FOR LIFTING THE
EMBARGO. WE HAVE SHOWN OUR GOOD FAITH BY ALLOWING A CEIL-
ING OF DOLS 175 MILLION UNDER THE EMBARGO. THE TURKS HAVE
NOT BUDGED. I FAIL TO SEE THE LOGIC NOW IN HANDING THEM
ANOTHER QUID WITHOUT A SINGLE QUO IN RETURN. REMOVAL OF
THE EMBARGO DOES NOT JUST GIVE THE TURKS LICENSE TO BUY
WHATEVER THEY WANT IN THE WAY OF ARMS, IT ALSO REMOVES
ANY PROHIBITION ON TRANSFERRAL OF ARMS TO CYPRUS AND ON
INCREASING THEIR TROOP LEVEL ON CYPRUS. FOR THESE REASONS,
I THINK PASSAGE OF THE BYRD-MCGOVERN AMENDMENT WOULD BE
A GRAVE MISTAKE.

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MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE HEARD THE PHRASE RULE OF LAW
INVOKED SO FREQUENTLY IN THE RECENT PAST THAT FOR SOME
IT MAY HAVE BECOME A CLICHE. THIS IS REGRETTABLE. WITH-
OUT THE LAW TO BIND US AS A NATION, WE RUN THE RISK OF
SUCCUMBING TO THE TYRANNY OF THE MINORITY, TO ANY MAN'S
WILL. THIS RUNS CONTRARY TO THE FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF
OUR COUNTRY.

SIR ANTHONY EDEN, AT THE TIME OF THE SUEZ CRISIS, MADE THE
FOLLOWING OBSERVATION: DRIFT IS THE DEMON OF DEMOCRACY.
DEMOCRACIES SHOULD RATHER CONSIDER, IN ANY STEP THEY TAKE
IN WORLD AFFAIRS, WHETHER WHAT THEY DO WILL SERVE ONLY TO
RELAX TENSION FOR A WHILE, OR WHETHER IT IS IN THE TRUE

INTEREST
OF LASTING PEACE. THAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN APPEASE-
MENT AND PEACE.

MR. PRESIDENT, THAT, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS THE CHOICE WE ARE
CONFRONTED WITH TODAY: APPEASEMENT OF THE TURKS OR
PRINCIPLE. END QUOTE.

6. SEN. MCGOVERN'S EXPLANATION OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT:

BEGIN QUOTE. I SUBMIT THAT OUR APPROACH MUST BE SOMETHING OTHER THAN THE SIMPLE ACT OF RETAINING THE PROVISION IN QUESTION OR THE SIMPLE ACT OF REPEALING IT. NEITHER REPRESENTS A PRACTICAL AND EFFECTIVE POLICY.

WHAT WE NEED MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, AFTER LABORING FOR BETTER THAN THREE YEARS WITH TWO MUTUALLY DESTRUCTIVE POLICIES, IS A SINGLE, CLEARLY ARTICULATED U.S. POLICY ON WHICH CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT CAN AGREE AND THE TERMS UNCLASSIFIED

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OF WHICH STRONGLY DECLARE OUR UNWAVERING INTENT TO LEND OUR FULL, ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE SUPPORT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST, NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS. SUCH A POLICY, MOREOVER, MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT WHILE DELETING THE EMBARGO PROVISION FROM OUR LAW, WE HAVE NOT DELETED A DEEP CONCERN FOR CYPRUS FROM OUR NATIONAL CONSCIENCE AND THAT WE WILL EXAMINE, THROUGH PRESCRIBED EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE, OUR FUTURE POLICIES TOWARD EACH RELEVANT COUNTRY WITH A VIEW TO WHETHER IT HAS CONTRIBUTED A GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO THE PROCESS OF BRINGING JUSTICE TO THAT ISLAND.

WHAT I ENVISION, MR. PRESIDENT, IS EMBODIED IN AN AMENDMENT WHICH IS NOW PROPOSED TO THE SENATE UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE DISTINGUISHED MAJORITY LEADER (MR. ROBERT C. BYRD), SENATOR BENTSEN, SENATOR CHAFEE, MYSELF WHICH, WHILE REPEALING THE EMBARGO, WOULD EQUALIZE THE FISCAL YEAR 1979 MILITARY CREDITS AVAILABLE TO GREECE AND TURKEY AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, PLACE INTO THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT A NEW SECTION ENTITLED "POLICY AND PROCEDURE REGARDING CYPRUS, GREECE, AND TURKEY." THIS PROVISION SETS FORTH, IN ITS FIRST TWO SUBSECTIONS, CERTAIN FINDINGS WHICH SHOULD FORM U.S. POLICY AND, IN ITS THIRD SECTION, A NUMBER OF PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN U.S. POLICY.

IN ITS FOURTH SUBSECTION, THE PROVISION CONTINUES THE PRESIDENT'S PERIODIC REPORTS TO CONGRESS CONCERNING CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. AND IN ITS FIFTH SUBSECTION, IT ESTABLISHES A PROCEDURE GOVERNING FUTURE PRESIDENTIAL REQUESTS TO THE CONGRESS FOR AID AND MILITARY SALES TO TURKEY, GREECE, OR

CYPRUS.

THE PROCEDURE ESTABLISHED IS SIMPLE IN CONCEPT, BUT PERHAPS DECEPTIVELY SO. IT REQUIRES THE PRESIDENT, IN CONNECTION WITH ANY FUTURE REQUEST RELATING TO ANY OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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THREE COUNTRIES, TO TRANSMIT WITH THAT REQUEST A FULLY JUSTIFIED CERTIFICATION THAT THE GOAL OF A JUST SOLUTION ON CYPRUS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED OR THAT SUCH FUTURE AID WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT GOAL. THIS, I BELIEVE, SHOULD PROVIDE MEANINGFUL INCENTIVE TO EACH OF THE CONCERNED PARTIES TO MOVE PROMPTLY INTO GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS. FOR IF THE PRESIDENT IS UNABLE, FOR ANY OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED, TO MAKE THIS CERTIFICATION A YEAR FROM NOW, THE QUESTION OF THE PRESIDENT REQUESTING ANY AID AT ALL TO THAT COUNTRY WOULD BE FORECLOSED.

WE ARE ALL AWARE, OF COURSE, THAT CERTIFICATION PROCEDURES HAVE, IN PAST ADMINISTRATIONS, BEEN ABUSED. BUT I HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S INTEGRITY WOULD PRECLUDE AN ABUSE IN THIS INSTANCE. THUS, IF TURKEY DOES NOT MAKE A GOOD FAITH EFFORT IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATION, I DO NOT EXPECT THIS ADMINISTRATION TO MAKE A DISINGENUOUS OR FALSE CERTIFICATION.

MOREOVER, IF THERE WERE TO OCCUR A CERTIFICATION WITH WHICH THE CONGRESS DISAGREED, ADEQUATE REMEDIES WOULD BE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS. END QUOTE.

7. DEPT WILL POUCH FULL TEXT OF DEBATE AS PRINTED IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORD TO ACTION ADDRESSEES. CHRISTOPHER

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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